1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

868 of fishing there is in tales and chants. Similarly, in the learning of the old
533 chants and songs, practices are held before some village contest, and the
245 village group of men and women, young and old, sit up throughout the night repeating time and time again the songs and chants which are to be sung at the conclusion of the contest. At the present time, when the villages go to the reserves to make copra, the opportunity is taken to alternate nights devoted to the practicing of chants with the nights devoted to the customary hymn practices.

PUBERTY

304 No surgical operation or physical manipulation was performed on the Pukapukan boy or girl. A foreskin naturally stretched back from the glans was considered a shameful abnormality (*luma*) because it gave the appearance of circumcision. It was a matter for joking among the girls and caused much sorrow to the boy affected. One reference only to circumcision occurs in the folk tales (p. 54).

841 The occurrence of the first menses is spoken of as the opening or piercing
864 of the body (*na pu*).

145 Though her mother does not tell her in advance what to expect, a girl is nevertheless well informed from discussion with her older girl friends. When she finds herself
881 menstruating (*toto*) for the first time, she says to her mother, "I aku na toto" (I am bleeding). Informants say that a girl is naturally frightened (*mataku*) or ashamed (*wakama*) when she first discovers she is menstruating. Cramps are common in both stomach and back. Periods range in length from three days to a week. The menstrual pad (*pulu tautape*) consists of several coconut husks pounded soft and tied with a piece of coconut fiber. Each pad is disposed of in a separate hole dug on the beach for the purpose. There is no fear of the blood. The method of disposal is merely a convenient way of getting rid of soiled objects. A woman does not have sexual intercourse during the menstrual period, on pain of becoming ill from having the blood "pushed up into her chest"; but there is no tapu on her activities or contacts with members of the household. No physical explanation is given for the facts of menstruation. If a young girl commences to menstruate before her mother considers that other signs of physical maturity warrant it, the mother is angry with the girl because this indicates that she is already having a love affair with some man or is, at least, already interested in the opposite sex. Molingi said, "Girls who do not interest themselves in men do not start to menstruate until later on when they are older and ready to marry. Girls who menstruate too early have an undue fondness for men."

841 Two types of physical therapy are used in cases of menstrual trouble. For menstruation prolonged beyond the average four days, the blood is washed away from the pudenda, and the parts bathed in hot water. For delayed menstruation marked by pain, the body is bathed in cold water, either fresh or salt, to cool off the body; and the abdomen is then pressed (*lomilomi*) until menstruation commences.

886 Informants could not explain the recognized connection between the cessation of the menses with pregnancy, nor could they explain the physiology
[843] of the menopause. This is referred to as the closing of the blood flow by the

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phrase *koa punia* (it is closed). According to Molingi, old women who have had all the children they desire simply stop (*mutu*) having further pregnancies by making up their minds that they do not want them. Informants said that the period of the menopause involves no physical or mental sickness, nor even inconvenience. A woman passes through the menopause as easily and naturally as the average woman bears children.

Acquisition of Adult Status

The rite by which the adolescent becomes an adult is known simply as *wakatane* or *wakawawine* (to become a man or woman). It symbolizes to the community the sexual and social maturity of the individual. Pre-adolescent boys and girls formerly went naked. Though they indulged in no formal sex life, they acquired, through general education and sex plays, full knowledge of sexual behavior. When they have decided the time of maturity has come, the parents of the child formally report the matter at the village meeting. If a boy should try to wear a malo or a girl a kilt (*titi*) before the parents consider them mature, the parents would tear the garment off and make the young persons wait. The parents judge maturity by the secondary sex characteristics or by comparison with the other children of the same birth class (*tai tangata*).

The occasion for the *wakatane* or *wakawawine* rite depends on the operation of the *tai tangata* system. When it is decided that certain members of a particular birth class are mature, all the boys and girls born in the same six-months period are also considered mature. Informants said that formerly boys and girls would be about 20 years old before they were judged ready to become men and women. If this figure is valid there has been considerable change, for children now become adults at the age of about 15 years. At the time that one group of children attains adulthood, the parents of the next birth class begin to make clothes for their children, six or seven pandanus malos for the boys and many kilts for the girls.

The adulthood rite was generally held during the first new moon of each six-months period. Announcement was made in each village of the names of the children graduating. Without ceremony and in their own house, the parents then formally dressed these children in malo or kilt. This is known as the *tau malonga* or *tau titinga* (putting on malo or kilt). One informant from Yato village said, however, that the men gathered for the *tau malonga* in the reserve of Niua, bathed the boys, took them to a watch house in the reserve, called for this occasion a *wale liakinga malo* (house for tying on the malo), and there dressed them in their first malos. No women were allowed to be present. This perhaps constitutes a local village variation on the more customary practice.

Girls had no further duties or activities to perform after they had been

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757 tion: the patient eats only nuts, pandanus fruit, and bananas; talo is later added to the diet, but fish or flesh is tapu as long as medicine is being taken.

278 Debility of patients grown thin and weak through prolonged illness. Place the liver of any large, edible fish in a green coconut cup, cover with water, and warm over hot coals. When thoroughly hot, remove and throw away the liver. Pound up several lengths of aerial pandanus root, squeeze out the juice, and add to the liver water. Let the patient drink this each day. The same medicine is used for renal colic.

Diarrhea. Bake ripe pandanus keys, extract the nuts, and pound up. Express the juice. To each half cup of juice, add a little dried coconut oil and fresh water. Drink the mixture at intervals until cured. A diet of pounded cooked talo mixed with drinking-nut liquid is also recommended to calm the stomach.

Filaria. Pau would only say that the main treatment consists in *lomilomi* and lancing. However, some practitioners paint an embrocation on the affected limb. The ingredients of such an embrocation are a closely guarded trade secret, but probably consist of a coconut oil base to which pandanus juice is added. Trade perfume is considered to have great virtue as an addition to such a mixture. The embrocation is applied until the swelling begins to subside. After that, nature is allowed to take its course, unaided by external applications.

Hemorrhage. External bleeding of a limb is treated by winding a length of malo or sennit round the limb about the wound and tying tightly. If bleeding occurs in a place where a wrapping may not be easily applied, deep pressure with the thumb is exerted above and below the wound. Either of the two following astringents is applied to the wound: juice squeezed from the husk of a coconut, or juice squeezed from the pounded roots of the coconut tree. The wound is covered with leaves of the *nonu* plant and tied with sennit. For external bleeding after childbirth and for internal bleeding, vomiting of blood, or passing of blood with the feces: express the oil from the gratings [844] of a very red dried coconut; squeeze the juice from pounded, baked, ripe pandanus keys, and mix the two liquids; add drinking-nut water to make about two gills of liquid; let the patient drink this at intervals until bleeding ceases.

Stomach pain. Pound raw or baked bananas, mix with *lalo* cream and drinking-nut liquid. About one-half pint of the medicine is drunk at intervals until the pain ceases.

Rheumatic pains (*maki ngungu*). These are treated with *lomilomi* and an embrocation: grate a dried coconut and add to it four or five leaf buds of the *taeyinu* tree; pound up the mixture and express the juice onto the source of pain. Other leaf buds may be substituted, but those of the *taeyinu* are preferred.

Vomiting (*lua*). As an emetic, drink salt water. To allay excessive vomiting, drink about one-half pint of the internal hemorrhage medicine, until vomiting ceases.

Insomnia (*onge moe*). Pau mentioned this as an occasional complaint, but had no specific treatment.

192 A vocabulary of about 200 words covering physiological processes and
826 parts and bones of the body was also obtained from Pau, who was shown pictures of different parts of the body, diagrams of a skeleton and the skull, and asked to identify the parts he knew. These words are included in the Pukapukan dictionary.

43 Imperfect and irregular teeth (*ngao ese*) are believed to result if a child
852 loses his milk teeth before the second set is ready to erupt, for the child tends to play with his gums (*tuke nio*), so spoiling the second set. Many young children, aged 3 to 5 years, have badly broken or decayed milk teeth. Some have sets of stumps that appear to be worn down through hard chewing. This is an individual matter, however, because other children of the same age have beautiful, well-formed milk teeth.

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Deformity of the teeth was noticed in one man, about 55 years old, who possesses a double set of back teeth, presumably milk teeth and second set, growing side by side from the same gum. Two other very old men were noticed whose four front incisors inclined inward at an angle of about 45 degrees to the gum. I neglected to inquire whether this was due to accident or to the chewing of certain foods.

CARE OF THE BODY

Adults and children wash (*palupalu*) their faces with fresh water on awakening in the morning, pouring water into the palm of the hand and so applying it to the face. Adults generally do not bathe (*takele*) in the sea until evening, when they have a long bath and gossip with friends. When bathing in the sea by day, they now wear old clothes. Formerly a woman did not remove her kilt. After bathing she laid it out to dry and put on a spare one. Presumably men bathed in their malos. Today, as formerly, men and women bathe naked in the sea at night. A fresh-water rinse is taken after a sea bath when water is available. Coconut oil (*yinu*) was formerly always applied (*omoomo*) to the hair, face, and body after a bath to make the hair stand out and the skin shiny. Today it is applied only on special occasions, for it is not possible to spare coconuts to make sufficient oil for everyday use.

Delousing (*vakule na wutu*) is performed at any time by a girl for another girl or older woman, by a mother for a daughter. The lice (*wutu*) are killed by chewing. Presumably it was done for men, when they wore their hair long, by wives or other female relatives, but with their hair cut short, lice apparently present no problem to them. Small boys and some girls today have their hair cut very short as a prophylactic measure against lice and scalp infection. Grey hairs (*lau ulu yina*) are sometimes pulled out of a man's head by his wife. This is termed *wuti na yina*.

Body hair (*wuluwulu*) on man or woman was not removed but was considered an object of great beauty. At infrequent intervals a man removed the beard from his face by sawing at it (*valuvalu*, to scrape) with a knife of the jaw bone of the *pala* fish. Today most men shave (*valuvalu*) with a razor once a week before going to church.

Whitish blotches (*tautuna*) on the skin resulting from *tinea* infection were highly prized as making the skin more beautiful. The chants contain many references to this; a lover commonly praises the number and size of the blotches on the skin of his mistress.

Bodily hygiene of infants and children is discussed elsewhere (p. 276). Adults, like children, urinate (*mimi*) anywhere outside the house. Adults evacuate in the sea and clean themselves with a coconut husk or a stone and

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These two, however, went to Rarotonga, and I went to live with my paternal uncle. 159

It was about this time while my mother was away that I started to menstruate. I suppose I must have been about 16 years old, much older I think than other girls when they start their periods. I was very frightened when I first saw the blood, because no one had told me in advance what to expect. I think most girls are frightened at this time. Two years after this I married. 159 145

During these years before my marriage I had many girl friends. One girl, Tolu, older than I and who married before me, was my special friend. We helped each other with special tasks. If one had to collect firewood or harvest *taro* from the gardens then the other would go along too. We often shared our food together. I helped Tolu with her courtship. She would ask me to come and sleep with her on those nights when she wanted to go off to the bush with her lover. When the boy came to the house, Tolu would pinch me and tell me to answer for her should her mother or anyone call to ask if she was safe at home. At this time I did not meet boys or men in the bush. I was very fond of Tolu and when we slept together we would hug each other. I was never annoyed when Tolu went off with men. I was much more proud that I was in her secret and knew something that others did not know. 159 572 836

Before I had menstruated for the first time I had many meetings with young men in the bush. They happened like this. When I was 14 or 15 and living in my father's brother's household, my uncle went to stay for a time with a sick sister in Yato village. In the evening I used to take him his food from our house. Going across the causeway that joins the eastern and western sections of Yato I was grabbed by a young man who asked me where I was going. I said I was taking food to my father. He said, " Hurry, I'll be waiting for you here." I said to him, " No, I'm going to sleep there." Then I passed him by and went to my father. Later in the evening when I returned he was waiting for me. He was a Yato villager, two years older than I, and distantly related, being my mother's mother's father's brother's daughter's daughter's son. He said to me that we should both go to the bush. I told him no, saying that I had not menstruated 159 836